593 not considered bad for a man to beat his wife." In the case
593 of ill-treatment by the husband, her father may take the
*613 matter to the corporate head. Traditionally, the corporate
[792] head would order the husband to move his tent next to the
tend of the "holy man" or some other third party, so that
he would be dissuaded against such behavior. Another reason
[586] for this is so that the girl might have witnesses to support
her petition for divorce should the husband continue to beat
her. I heard of no wife-beating while I was in al-Qasr.

•595 The Quran states that a man may lawfully take four
[779] wives, but that if he feels he cannot treat each of them
equally, he should take only one (Sura IV:3 and 129). The
Bedouins are conscientious in practicing this rule, though
595 perhaps not for religious reasons. If a man has more than
593 one wife, he must spend an equal amount of time with each.
Conflict between co-wives is lessened by the fact that a man
will have separate tents, or rooms in the case of a house,
for each wife. A man will not buy a dress or a piece of jewelry
for one wife without buying a copy of it for all other wives.
595 On a trip to the Siwa Oasis, I was accompanied by a man who
593 had three wives and wished to bring them a gift of basketry
114 upon his return. He was successful in buying two baskets
which were similar but could not find a comparable third in
[431] the oasis market. In dismay, he made a gift of the baskets
to me and returned with no souvenirs at all. One of my in-

595 124 One of my informants, a wealthy man and a poet, said that since he could not love two women equally he would never take a second wife. He also said that he was unwilling to give his daughter to a man who refused to promise him that she would be his only wife.

593 Throughout his life, the father is dominant and his washuun is subjective. He is the master of his naja' and the [596] social behavior of his wife and offspring toward him has both a moral and a pragmatic aspect. They show respect and obed- [768] ience because "it is the decent thing to do;" further, just as he provides for their material needs while he is alive, so the property which he leaves them will sustain them after 428 his death. As we have already noted, in theory, the daughters [562] inherit one-half of the shares which the sons receive; in fact, females inherit only if they are the sole survivors of the male. But the surviving wife, or wives, will take a cash amount equal to their brideprice from the husband's estate. The Bedouins say that this price will be paid before any other inheritance shares are distributed. In addition, the 768 wife has the right to remain in her husband's house or tent, and it is the duty of the eldest son to look after her. She may remain at home until death, provided she never brings a man who may be considered a prospective husband into the house.

593 The rights and duties involved in the father-washuun relationship show that the ideal authority structure of the

582 (Patai 1962:Ch. 6).
171

The point of this is that most of the Middle East's inhabitants are villagers dependent upon agriculture. The dominant form of marriage is not parallel-cousin marriage. As a matter of fact, marriage may or may not be considered exogamous depending upon the level of segmentation at which one wishes to draw the line for his definition of endogamy. Ayoub (1959) suggests that parallel-cousin marriage be considered only as an extreme expression of an overall preference for endogamy. She found in a sample of 514 marriages from a Syrian village that 9.1 per cent of them were with the parallel-cousin while 63.4 per cent were within the secondary group. She concludes from this that intra-lineage marriage is frequent enough that it cannot be accounted for by random mate selection.

582 In 'Ailit Ma'fas of al-Qasr, out of 197 recorded
162 marriages over a period of five generations the frequency of
*[613] parallel-cousin marriage was 11.1 per cent and marriage within
the lineage was 41.6 per cent of the total. Of these 197
•[595] marriages, only 39 were cases of polygny and most of these involved a man taking two wives (see Table 5 below).

582 The confusion over the presence or absence of parallel-
114 cousin marriage in the Middle East is related to the question
196 of whether or not the researcher and the native are talking about the same thing. In Qasr, for instance, the term

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 116]

586 829 judicious. Another issue which enters here is the desire on the part of the individual to maintain his privacy--especially where an infringement of it could result in a change of his tax status. The Bedouins think that it is wise to keep the government uninformed about the exact size of their family.

586 829 123 When I first asked a question concerning divorce, I was politely taken aside and told that I do not speak about divorce to a man, and especially when his sons are present.

586 Two cases of divorce took place while I was in the field. In the one, the wife claimed that her husband was impotent. She took this complaint to her father who then confronted the husband with it; the result was a divorce. Although the man denied that he was sterile, this was his second childless marriage and he felt it wise not to contest the case. It becomes very important to know, in the case of Bedouin divorce, which partner cannot meet the requirements of the marriage. If it is the woman, she will return to her father's house and the father must then return the price of mahr (brideprice). If it is the husband, when his wife returns to her father's house he must pay her (not her father, in this case) a sum, called mu'akhkhir al-sadaaq ("the balance of the marriage contract"), which is equal to that of the original mahr. Actually, there are three times when a mahr price may be paid in al-Qasr: the original mahr is paid at the time of the marriage; the mu'akhkhir al-sadaaq is paid

[583] [968] [595]

586 at the time of divorce (if the husband is in fault), and also
583 at the time of the husband's death; and, sadaaq al-musaama
768 ("price of friendship") is paid to the wife when her husband
595 takes a second, third or fourth wife.

586 The second divorce case which happened while I was
158 in al-Qasr involved, what seems to be, an instance of psychotic behavior. A girl, who had married shortly before I arrived in the field, would fall into a deep sleep every time she entered her husband's house. Each time her father would come for her and take her home until she had recovered. But upon her return, three different times, she became ill again. Finally, her father and the husband agreed that this marriage would not work, and the father returned the mahr to the man. This case lasted over the period of almost a year while I lived in al-Qasr. I suggested to the father that perhaps his daughter did not wish to be married to this man but he assured me that "she loved him very much."

586 If the girl's father is dead, so that she cannot return to his house at the time of divorce, she will go to live with the brother who needs her services. It then be-
586 comes the duty of the brother to make another marriage for
587 his sister, and in the case that he does it becomes his right
593 to claim the mahr for himself. The Bedouins say that virginity,
583 or the lack of it, in the case of the divorced woman is no issue; just so a man knows "she is from a good family."

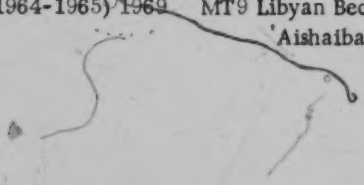
586 851 * 613 Naturally, according to the rule of patriliny, all children from a marriage belong to the husband and become members of his lineage. Should divorce occur while a woman is nursing, she will take the child with her and it will be returned after weaning. Sometimes the husband will permit the wife to keep one child--always a girl--in order "to keep her company."

587 The practice of the sororate has been noted. The Bedouins also believe that "a man should marry his brother's widow so that she will have someone to help her with the children." But I have no data on the frequencies of these practices. When I gathered my data on marriage, my informants 12 58 would give me only the name of the tribe or lineage into which a man married, and never did I get the name of a man's wife. [829] (One lineage in al-Qasr, entirely refused to give me data on genealogy or marriage because, as one leader said, "it is not decent to speak of these things with people.") Sororal •595 polygny is forbidden (Quran IV:23), and the Bedouins say that a man cannot marry more than one bint 'amm. Marriage 182 practices, such as sororate and levirate, I interpret as [587] patterns which maintain structural continuity and political advantage. The custom of permitting a man to marry only [582] one of his father's brother's daughters may be seen as a precaution against intensifying authority relations and the degree of segmentation.

156 than the Awlad 'Ali societal level. In the traditional
554 system, his influence and power have been informal, and,
121 although this has been advantageous over against the formal role of 'aqila, his political activity was ultimately limited by this structural differentiation and definition of authority. In gaining access to the bureaucratic structure of Egyptian [177] officialdom with its firm allocation of rights and duties, Hajj 'Ali could operate as an authority within the total authority structure which has reference to both the internal and external political relational systems of al-Qasr.

Practical Application

*613 In al-Qasr, the two most influential and powerful lineages, 'Ailit Lazumi and 'Ailit Ma'fas, each have a [634] "most powerful bait." We have noted that in 'Ailit Lazumi it is Bait Bu Taram which controls the office of 'umda: in *613 'Ailit Ma'fas it is Bait 'Umar which has Hajj 'Ali. Hajj 'Ali
159 is fifty three years old. He has married five times, divorced
581 one wife, and at present has four wives. Whatever his motives
156 for these marriages, at least some of them have obviously
• [595] been made as economic and political moves. A check on his wives' tribal origins will show this. In each case, Hajj 'Ali's wife is from a lineage which holds land contiguous to his own property in the 'izba sector of al-Qasr. The one exception to this is a marriage contracted to establish ties



156 of them) cater largely to the needs of the lineage in whose
159 territory they are located. They are operated mostly on a
554 credit basis. Lineage members, as debtors, feel gratitude
443 but also, and more importantly, loyalty toward their kinsman
423 and creditor. Hajj 'Ali is the only member of al-Qasr who
472 owns two shops, and the only Bedouin in the whole Western Desert
* [613] who owns three shops. His brother owns a shop in Matruh.
[452]

156 Furthermore, the shop in Sallum is in a strategic position on
159 the Libyan border which, coincidentally or not, is a point
554 for importing, and also smuggling, foreign goods into Egypt.
443 The possession and utilization of foreign products is definitely
439 a status symbol all over Egypt. Hence, the person in this
472 area who can control, however slightly, the distribution of
such goods has a lever with which to exact prestige and
favors from the "status group" in al-Qasr who now welcome
these symbols (tobacco, pistols, rifles, radios) and the
bureaucrats of Marsa Matruh who crave them (food goods,
clothing materials, car parts).

156 Besides all this, Hajj 'Ali is involved in a small
159 stone-cutting operation which supplies stones for house
554 building, he cooperates with his three brothers in a well-
[316] cleaning concern, and contracts government heavy equipment
[312] to build earth dams. The material evidence of his status
[427] is that he is the only man in al-Qasr with two compound-type
[342] houses (one he built thirteen years ago), and the only man
• [595] with four wives.

619 Awlad Ali themselves are divided into three major sections: Ahmar
173 (the Reds); Abiad (the Whites); and Senenah. Each of these sections is referred to as "tribe" and sometimes "tribes." The first two major sections, those of Ahmar or the Reds and Abiad (Whites), are named after their mothers, the wives of Ali (founder of Awlad Ali). The Whites are named after their white mother, and the Reds after their Sudanese mother who, owing to her dark complexion, was known as El-Hamra (the red one).

613 In the past, writers such as Robertson-Smith (1903) have inter-
114 preted the reference to female names in patrilineal genealogies as in-
55 dicating an earlier matrilineal descent. I tend to agree with a more
● [595] recent writer, E. Peters (1959), who explains the reference to female ancestors by two factors: patrilineal descent and polygyny. According to him, it is a way of distinguishing full brothers from half brothers and a means to show this genealogically. "The concept of the 'one womb', of maternal origin, is a critical one in the context of social cohesion, but it does not deny patriliny; on the contrary, it serves a sense to enforce it. Female names can be used to show a greater notion of cohesion than the mere use of male names, and the significance of a female name . . . is that it is symbol of full brother unity at the highest political level." (p.29).

613 This can be further supported by evidence from my own data which
55 show that reference to female names occur more frequently in charts
173 where tribal names rather than proper names are used. In genealogies
619 using proper names, informants rarely, if ever, trace their descent to an ancestress. But when charts of tribal names are used, it is not

613 uncommon to find reference to female names. This indicates that it is
551 only when the unity of the full brothers becomes politically signifi-
173
619 cant that the name of the mother rather than the name of the father is
used. This may explain why the occurrence of female names in Awlad Ali
• [595] genealogies is not as common as one might expect judging from the fre-
quency of polygynous marriages among the group.

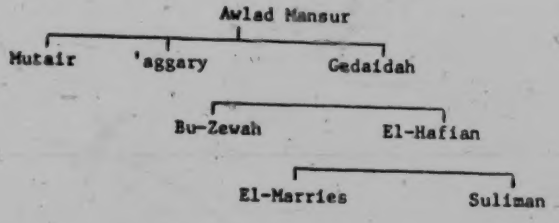
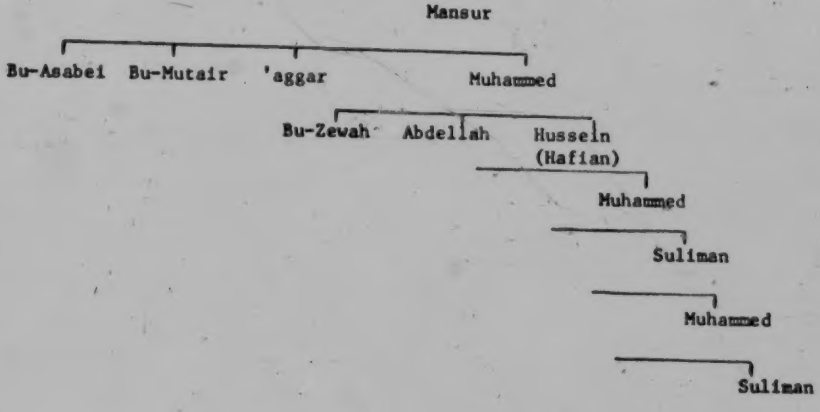


Fig. 3. Recognized tribal segments of Awlad Mansur (a segment of Awlad Ali)



613 individuals. He settles disputes among them and represents them in their
[627] disputes with outsiders. He is also the spokesman of his Bait in all matters involving the relationship of the Bait with the other tribal segments. He is responsible for the collection of the bloodmoney from members of his Bait and has the authority to confiscate property of individual members who refuse to pay their share. When a member is financially unable to pay his share, the Aqila is expected to pay for him and collect at a later time when the member is in a position to make such payment.

613 Originally the position of the Aqila was a hereditary one with the
428 position passing from father to son. However, in recent years the rigid-
178 ity of the patrilineal descent as the basis of succession to the position of the Aqila has been modified radically and other principles of selec-
613 tion have been introduced. The working of the principles underlying the
128 selection of the Aqila will be analyzed in detail in the following chapter through the close examination of one of the major legal cases which occurred during my stay in the area.

613 Thus each Bait is a division of one of the Eilas and this has its
[423] place in the formal tribal system. It constitutes a group with definite usufruct rights to land and a formally recognized leadership.

621 But the actual residential units in which Awlad Ali live are not
[613] baits but parts of them in the form of separate camps or "nagei". The camps constitute the primary communities of Awlad Ali. A camp consists
[594] of a number of tents ranging from four to twelve. Each tent is usually occupied by one nuclear family of a husband, his wife and children. In
[595] cases of polygynous marriages, each wife usually occupies one tent with
[361] her children. Each camp is separated from the next one by a distance which ranges from two to ten kilometers.

Still, according to the unofficial estimates,
585 only about ten per cent of all marriages are registered, and these are
656 mainly mixed marriages involving a tribal person and a non-tribal one
179 or a tribal member who is not living in the area anymore. The reason
582 is that such a spouse, especially when he is the husband, is not under
619 the control of the tribal customs and therefore cannot be forced to fulfill his obligations if he fails to do so. Most of the tribal popula-
[581] tion still feel that marriage is a personal and family affair that should be kept away from the State legal system.

584 Marriage among Awlad Ali is a relatively informal procedure. When
593 a man decides to marry a certain girl, he informs his mother who, in turn, informs his father. The father may have objections to his son's choice of the bride. Such objections may be based on already strained relations between the two families or the questionable reputation of the girl or any member of her family. In such cases, the father tries to dissuade his son from going ahead with the marriage. The father is
[583] usually successful in controlling his son's choice when the latter is dependent on his father for the payment of the bridewealth called "mahr" and for the support of his new household. This is usually the case in the man's first marriage. In subsequent marriages and in the cases where the son has independent means of support for himself and his bride, the father's control of the son's choice is minimal, and asking the father's approval is a matter of formality. In second and subse-
593
595 quent marriages, the approval of the older wives is essential. The
584 older wives have no right to object to the husband taking an additional wife, but they have the right to object to the choice on the basis that the new bride is hard to get along with or that there is animosity between her family and the families of the other wives which makes

593 cooperation between the wives in household activities difficult. The
595 wives have to have reasonable grounds for their objection to the new
584 bride. But even then, the husband could still marry the woman of his
[431] choice, although in this case he has to bring gifts to the other wives as "nasafa," or making-up present.

584 If the family has no objections to the marriage, the proceedings
593 start. The initial proceedings are undertaken by the women on both sides. The groom's mother or a female relative of his mother's generation or older visits the mother of the prospective bride and tells her of her son's intention to marry the latter's daughter. The bride's mother then discusses the matter with the girl's father who has the
[429] final say in the matter. If the father is dead, then the authority on giving the girl in marriage goes to her brother or closest male kin in the order specified before. The girl has no say in the matter of marriage and cannot refuse to complete the marriage, although after marriage she can resort to a certain practice which helps her to terminate the marriage without the consent of her guardian, as will be seen later in
584 the chapter. From this moment until the conclusion of the marriage
[583] negotiations are done by the men of both families. The first thing to be discussed is the amount of bridewealth, a "mahr." If the two families agree on the marriage, a small ceremony is held. This ceremony is called
[799] "el-fatha" in reference to reading the first "sura" of the Koraan known as el-fatha, or "the beginning." The ceremony includes members of the
[675] two families and very few friends. After the fatha is read, the agreement is achieved. This is considered as an engagement and means that the girl is spoken for and therefore no other man can ask to marry her.

To break the fatha agreement, the father of the prospective bride

593 606 559 586 [114] The case persisted for more than two months with no sign that either party was willing to give into the demands of the other. I left the area before any solution to the case was achieved.

Another relevant case is one which involved a dispute between 584 578 606 Hassan Hassanein from the Sanagrah tribe and the father-in-law of his daughter who was also from the same tribe and who lived in the same area. The case started when Hassanein was visited by a friend from the [574] Esheibat tribe in Matruh, an old man of 60 or 70 years. During the night that this guest spent at Hassanein's house, they got to talking about marriage and the fact that although his guest was a wealthy and re- [595] spected man, he had only one wife. After a lengthy talk, it seemed that the old man was convinced that he should have a second wife and asked Hassanein if he knew of a suitable girl to marry. Hassanein sug- 584 583 578 606 gested his daughter's sister-in-law. Hassanein took the prospective groom to the tent of his daughter's father-in-law and discussed the matter with the father of the prospective bride who agreed to marry his daughter to Hassanein's guest if he paid the sume of 200 pounds, in addition to slaughtering a number of goats and presenting him with the [599] appropriate presents. When the man agreed to the terms, the fatha was read to signify the agreement between the two parties. Hassanein left the man to spend the night in the camp of his future in-laws. In the morning the groom told the bride's father that he must go to nearby Alexandria to bring the money for the bride price. When he came back late that afternoon, he paid the money and set a date for the wedding the next Thursday and then left for Matruh to prepare for the arrival of the new wife.

case its return to the husband would have caused great financial inconvenience for the wife's family.

Corresponding to the second right, the husband's right to his wife's domestic work, is the wife's right to maintenance. The husband has to support his wife. This includes providing her and her children with adequate food and proper clothing. If the husband fails to do so because of poverty, sickness, crop failure or unexpected disaster, the wife's brother or father provides her and her children with the necessary food and clothing. If the husband's failure to fulfill his duties is due to neglect, the wife can leave him and go to her father or brother who talks the matter over with the husband who, in turn, either agrees to their demands or has to divorce his wife and forfeit his mahr.

Finally, corresponding to the husband's right to his wife's obedience is the wife's right to fair treatment by her husband. There are a number of ways in which the wife is mistreated. One is excessive punishment; although the right of the husband to punish his wife is provided in the Koraan, the punishment must be excessive or severe. Awlad Ali draw a line between acceptable and severe punishment. A punishment is severe if it results in something that other people can see or hear. If the husband insults his wife or her family and others hear the action, or if he beats her and this results in visible traces, then the punishment is severe.

A wife considers herself mistreated if the husband, when married to more than one, treats any of the other wives better than he treats her. Although the wife cannot deny her husband the right to have additional wives, he must give them all equal treatment. This includes

593 providing them with the same kind of food and clothing.* It also in-
595 cludes dividing his time equally between them, spending one night in
562 each wife's tent. The first wife, being the chief one, has certain privileges: her tent is the guest house, food is brought to her residence, and she is the one to divide it among the other wives, and her house is the place for the husband to stay if he becomes sick and unable to move every night from one tent to another. Other than the exceptions given to the first wife, the husband has to treat all his wives equally.

593 (586) Normally, such cases of mistreatment do not result in divorce unless they are persistent. In most cases, if the wife is mistreated, she goes to her father's or brother's house or sends for them to come and take her. For the husband to bring her back to his tent, he must pay
593 431 her "nasafa." This is a gift given by the husband to his wife as an acknowledgement of guilt and as a form of apology for not giving her fair treatment. In some cases the nasafa is equal to what the husband originally paid as mahr.

581 These are some of the rights that marriage gives both men and women
585 in the tribal society of Awlad Ali. These rights, however, are useless
626 unless they are backed by certain means of enforcing them. The husband's
586 rights are guaranteed by his ability to dissolve the marriage at will.
626 According to Islamic law, a man can divorce his wife by simply pronounc-
593 ing the sentence "I divorce you" in the presence of credible witnesses.
[979] No justification for divorce is demanded from the husband according to
[562] the Koraan. No such privilege is given to the wife. She can obtain a

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* With provision for wives with more children.

159 562 428 593 [237] the relationship between her and her brothers. Following her action and until the time of the study, they had never visited her and she had never visited them. Her husband took care of the herd; and the arrangement worked out all right until the 159 562 593 595 husband told Fatma one day that he was going to marry a second wife. She refused, but he went ahead with the marriage without her consent. He brought the new wife to live with Fatma in the same tin hut in which they were living. He started to pay more attention to the new wife and to neglect Fatma; whenever the latter complained, he beat her. Then, before one of the religious feasts, he sold two of Fatma's sheep and bought his new wife a dress and a silver bracelet. When Fatma objected [144] and they argued, he hit her with a stick on the head; she was hospitalized for a week with a serious head wound. While in the hospital, she went to her brothers who lived only two miles away, but they refused to 159 562 574 593 595 586 come to her assistance. She then went to sheikh Eleva (the aqila of Bait Asabei) and threw herself on him. He met with the husband and convinced him to divorce Fatma. He kept forty sheep of Fatma's herd as compensation for the mahr he had paid her and the marriage expenses, then took his new wife and moved from Fatma's hut. Fatma then returned and 159 562 444 [233] managed her financial affairs successfully herself. She managed the store and hired a shepherd to take care of the sheep. At the time of the present study she was respected by almost everybody in the area, including members of the local administration. She is known to be reason- [529] [521] able and of sound opinion, and her store functions as the meeting place for many of the tribal mi'ads and for casual conversations. She is also considered as a liason between the tribal population in the area and the local government administration, and is respected by both sides.

3:Evans-Pritchard E-4, 5 (1942-1944) 1949 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
(1837-1942) Sanusi

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[595]

He also has more wives than other Bedouin and is usually more cultured and intelligent.[1]

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The most important of the Shaikhly families of the country, those which represented large tribal divisions vis-à-vis the Turkish Government, the Sanusiya, others sections of their tribe, adjacent tribes, and attached client groups, lost much of their influence with the loss of their stock and the exile of some of their more prominent members during the second Italo-Sanusi war. The authority of these traditional Shaikhly lineages was also undermined by Italian policies, first of recognizing and paying salaries to so many Shaikhs, some of whom were persons of little importance, that the office of Shaikh lost much of its virtue in the eyes of the people, and afterwards of ignoring the Shaikhs altogether. The better known of these Shaikhly families are the house of Bu Bakr bu Hadduth among the Bara'asa, the house of Lataiwish among the Magharba, the house of 'Abdalla among the 'Abaidat, the houses of Kizzih and 'Abbar among the 'Awaqir, the house of Asbali among the 'Arafa, the houses of Suwaikir and 'Ilwani among the 'Abid, the house of Bu Khatara bu Halaiqa among the Hasa, and, in the Sirtica, the most famous house of all, that of Saif al-Nasir among the highly nomadic Aulad Suliman.

[1] Op. cit., Pt. II, pp. 39–40.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

any summer camp will have descent lines cross linked by the bonds of marriage with parallel cousins, and at the same time cleaved by the maternal links established by repetitive cross-cousin marriage to different groups outside the segment. Thus, in one of its aspects, marriage makes of an agnatic group a group of cognates as well. 'Marry your paternal cousins and both your paternal and maternal relatives will be one,' to quote Bedouin sentiment on the matter. Within this agnatic group, nevertheless, two other clusters of kin exist—those with maternal connexions outside. In all, three areas of kinship can be defined,[13] although all the members of the segment will have the lineage bond of agnation in common. In normal circumstances, when split does not threaten the group, the bond of agnation, strengthened by parallel cousin marriage, takes precedence, although behaviour is significantly affected by maternal links at any time. There is, in the first instance, great jealousy between co-wives, which is passed on to their children. Each wife has her separate tent, and each is entitled to a strictly equal share of the husband's time they have in common. This applies similarly to favours he may grant his wives, and the distribution of his wealth among them. If, for example, the husband is the owner of a horse, he is required to tether it outside the tents of his wives in strict rotation; if he retires for the night with one wife, the following night he must favour the other; if he buys dress material for the one he must buy a length of identical material for the other; if he bestows favours on the children of one the children of the other must be given equal consideration. Many such details are meticulously observed; but while many are observed most of the time, it is difficult to observe them all, the whole time. Any breach of the rules is quickly taken up by the wives, and quarrels ensue, leading not only to bitterness among the co-wives, but between the offended wife and her husband, between the children of both wives, and between the children and their father. Often, when a man has co-wives, there is a marked discrepancy in age between them, for, when an elderly Bedouin marries a second

[13] The situation is not always as simple as this. Cross-cousin marriage may take more than two directions, and marriage within the segment might bring about great complexity, but the argument put forward above is not seriously affected by neglecting these details here.

4: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1970 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

wife he usually chooses a young girl of about twenty years. Children of the elder wife might be adult, therefore, when the children of the junior wife are infants. Great emphasis is placed on seniority, particularly among males, but strong emphasis is also placed on the equality of siblings and their equal legal status. Between brothers of widely differing ages, there is, then, this field of potential conflict. From an early date competitive, if not hostile, relationships develop between the sons of co-wives. Competition between half-brothers results not only from their mothers being co-wives: one group might be the sons of a divorced wife. The latter situation is often much worse, for the sons born of the divorced wife are now being fostered by a woman who is not their mother. A similar condition of things is brought about when a widower with sons remarries. Yet again, when a wife grows old and her sons have reached maturity, her husband may not divorce her formally, but merely 'throw her off his back'; she will then go to live with her grown sons, while her husband, in turn, takes a new wife, usually taking up residence in another camp for a time at least. It would be too much of a digression here to discuss the inheritance disputes, and the disputes over marriage and bride-wealth, which arise out of these various circumstances. Suffice it to note that such disputes are common and affect the alignment of people within a tertiary segment.

As half-brothers grow to maturity some of them will marry their maternal cross-cousins, and in succeeding generations some of their descendants will do likewise. In this way, a tertiary segment united by the bond of agnation, will also have within it smaller groups of kin having different sets of cognatic links. This group, as a residential unit, shows a very high concentration of agnates, and the Bedouin say with pride that members of the camps are always 'one' because of this agnatic bond, and indeed, the corporate identity of this group is strikingly displayed in many circumstances. It does not take precedence in all circumstances, for, built into agnation, with the heavy burden of duties which go with it, are serious stresses and strains which in some circumstances regularly come out into the open. In yet other circumstances cognatic kinship affiliations appear to be dominant, causing friction among agnates. A man, for example, may permit

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
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membership of associations and so on. The statuses a Bedouin achieves depend not on an ordered acquisition through the inheritance of roles or election to them, but on his personal manipulation of linkages in his jockeying with others. Rites are minimal because there are few defined statuses an individual can predictably acquire. The equalitarianism of the desert denudes the Bedouin of ritual riches. Complimentarily, rites which do occur are thrown into exaggerated relief by the absence of others, and in their isolation, become not merely a "passage" but a cataclysmic change. Marriage and burial both comprehend limited fields of relations, but accompanying ceremonies may bring several hundred people together, people who otherwise rarely gather in these numbers to meet one another as kinsmen and neighbours, and it is suggested that the emphasis given to the events dramatises the significance of the changes they produce. In the discussion of the changes brought about by marriage, the Bedouin view of what is entailed will be considered first.

The Bedouin View of Marriage

After marriage, the Bedouin argue, a son has a tent of his own, a woman over whom he has authority and soon children to make him a father. Marriage causes split, branching. A new family is created, holding the potential of a new lineage. The separation is so painful a matter for the father that he cannot contemplate it, hence his pretence that he has no knowledge of wedding festivities, and his subsequent attitude that nothing has happened.

Interestingly, there are two other occasions when this attitude is to be observed. When a man kills within his corporate group,[5] he may flee his tribe or he may be compelled to leave; later he is likely to return and, when he does, he is received with a minimum of show. Every attempt is made to suppress knowledge of the event.

Again, if incest occurs, the memory of it must somehow be suppressed, and it is an ever-present danger. Men, permitted four wives simultaneously and also able to engage in a plurality of marriages through divorce or death of spouses, may have children showing an age difference of two or three generations. Thus it comes about that a man may be of an age in relation to his father's sister which permits them as children to behave as if they were first paternal cousins. As an adult, the preferred spouse for a man is a father's brother's daughter. In terms of relationships between adolescents the situation in which a man is of the same age generation as his father's sister is fraught with danger. In one such case, between a man and his father's sister, the male child of the union was put out in the desert to be

[5] Bedouin are disposed in groups which, in summer, usually constitute a single community, around or near a watering point. The men of this group are interlinked by reference to an ancestor four or five ascending generations, reckoning from the generation of men of about 20 years. When, elsewhere in this chapter reference is made to corporations, it will be to groups of this kind.